224
825 lope, reddish, more shy.

Ethiopian klipspringer - "sässo", a little mountain antelope resembling the European chamois, with soft, smooth skin. The Amhara is amused by the curious habit of this sociable animal of mixing with herds of tame goats and grazing in their midst, when goats are taken to upper hillsides for pasturage in the rainy season.

[233]

Waterbuck - "defassa", large antelope resembling European red deer in build. Brown color; hers of 5 to 10 usually contain only one old bull. Common near Lake Tana.

Reedbuck - "behor", golden-colored antelope, in bush near water. They like to inhabit a specific small territory, in herds of 5 to 10.

Ethiopian ibex - "walya", very wild, red-speckled, on the dega steep mountains of Semyen subprovince. Not common elsewhere.

825
223 Francolins - "qoq" is the generic name for this family of common wild fowl of the woyna dega; resemble the partridge. Boys are adept at hunting them with slingshot and pebble and run after them until both are exhausted.

[411
867

Guinea fowl - "zegra" or "jegra", black, lean, fast runner, found near water.

Partridge - "sɔ̈rɔ̈n", common on woyna dega. Wild

goose "yebra" (anas aegyptiaca).

825
223 Quail - "derchet" Perhaps the most common wild fowl very near habitations, but rarely hunted because very small. It is considered a nuisance and a danger because of its habit of hiding in flocks in the tall grass and starting up suddenly, scaring horses and even mules, which is dangerous especially on steep hills. [59]

411 Spears, slingshot, and now rifles are used in part-
184 time or sport hunting. Traps ("atmëd") and snares are used only by occupational hunting populations living in jungles such as Wolqait and whose pattern of living differs from that of typical Amhara.

222 A noteworthy Amhara exploitative activity is the col-
412 lecting of pumice rock in riverbeds during the dry season, and thus called "yäbaher dengay" (river rock). It is used
135 in grinding and husking. Gold comes mostly from south of old-Amhara territory, where it is found in sand gravels and has been sold in nuggets since ancient times.

241 D. Food Production and Consumption

a.) Agricultural production

In agriculture in general, there are two major variables: environment, and degree of sophistication - i.e. power and its application.

The ecology of Ethiopia's highland plateau, where

59. The English equivalent terms have been taken from Van Rosen, Björn: Game Animals of Ethiopia. 1953.

285 Other fiberwork and basketry include: a large bas-
415 ket of withes, "qerchat", used to measure 25 kilos of pin-head-grained tyeff; a table made of split bamboo ("qerqa-ha"), or of a variety of reeds ("säbäz", "geramta", "akär-ma"); baskets to carry dry food)"akofada") made by shep-herding boys and girls; baskets to carry soggy stew, covered by morocco-type tanned leather by the faqi specialists, with straps holding the lid tight ("agälgel"); little grain baskets ("qulbit"); and the even smaller dowry basket ("mu-day") in which the bride carries her personal spinning equipment and little materials for adornment and ornament, often itself ornamented with dyed reeds; plaited straw baskets, very tightly woved and used as milking pots("qwacha")

285 There is also a purely ornamental fiber plate, en-
[531] tirely flat, with interwoven ornamentally dyed reeds, mostly in ring patterns and star designs. These are hung on the inner wall of the tuqul, probably in imitation of the interior decoration of the feudal "great man" 's house.

285 Young boys learn to make a slingshot ("wänchär")
411 of a strong fiber ("nacha"). When completed, it has a
857 loop on one end to hook over a finger. A pebble is placed in the protruding and flat center; then the slingshot is swung several times around the head and the loose end
[24] released at just the right speed and direction. It can stun a baboon and thus chase the band threatening the crops, or frighten off birds.

439 Some imported tools and utensils, have reached the
412 Amhara, but remained trade good. One was the straight razor, "arab melach", bought from Arabs as the name indicated,

412 ly by the ladies. An awl ("wasfe") is used in basket-making and umbrella-weaving. A small chisel ("mesar") may be a more recent introduction, but, like the awl and larger items, is nonetheless made by the (Falasha) smith. [232] Burning irons for burning out sores on the backs of mules and donkeys are also made by the ironsmith.

326 The ironsmith, usually Falasha in ethnic identification, does not usually do silversmithing. This is done in urban areas or big markets usually by Muslim silversmiths. The silver is smithed from Maria Theresa thalers, and the smith may keep as much as 2/3 of the "raw material" for himself. As in the case of most other marketable tools and utensils, the product of the silversmith is made on order only, though increasingly there are traders with chests full of silver filigree earspoons, crosses, rings, etc., ready for sale to officials, travellers, and others with ready cash. In the past, silversmiths using imported coins, and goldsmiths using Ethiopian mined gold nuggets, were to found primarily attached to the tent city of the king at his capital. Casting is done on the principle of cire perdue, a form of wax in clay.

411 Weapons were made also in connection with the feudal military organization, which required the craftsman to follow wherever the armed bands of the warlords went in raids or new settlements, serving as a kind or ordinance, and always on call. Rifles in Abyssinia date back over 300 years, handed down as family property, the stocks replaced time and again with tough, white wood, "wanza" (Cordia abyssinica). Each soldier carried gunpowder in

411 a cow's horn and had to manufacture his own cartridges. European cartridges, since the late 19th century have become prized items and are traded, though not illegally, at all big markets, sometimes in lieu of cash. However during all this time, until the present decade, spears were the primary weapons, for rifles were in short supply, out of date, and often in poor condition. The Galla and other south Ethiopians still use the spear almost exclusively.

Among the Amhara, as in most of Africa, the spear ("tor") rather than the also available saber or sword symbolized warfare ("tornät"). It still is kept, as a festive ornament and as a symbol of individual liberty and manly courage. There were numerous types and sizes, blades ranging most often from 12 to 20 inches, some lances used for throwing, some as hand spears, some two-pronged. Some were used in battle as late as the Italian invasion in 1935/6.

The saber was considered much less significant. It was curved toward the blade like an oversized kitchen knife, and fitted snugly into a scabbard. The main defensive protection was the round shield of rhinocerous or buffalo hide. It was not very large, 18 to 24 inches in diameter, height of curvature about 8 inches. It was often richly decorated with metal, silver, and even gold in case of the highest ranks. Daggers ("chubbë") were curved among the Amhara, but straight among other groups, for daggers, too, were regarded by the Amhara merely as adaptations of the kitchen knife.

411 A safer version of the throwing spear, with dull or no point, is used by the young men during their mock battle and chase at the "gänna" feast (Christmas).

326 435 The economic aspects of smithcraft could provide the smith with considerable income, since the Amhara peasants are in regular need, and since the Falasha smiths have a monopoly due to the suspicions of the magic correlation which keep Amhara from the craft. But in fact the income is not large. A team of rural smiths, 5 men, receive only Eth$1.50 for their labor in making a plowpoint, if the customer brings his own scrap, double that if the smiths have to supply it. The somewhat bigger "summer plow" costs somewhat more. The customer usually waits in a special hut of the hamlet of the smiths, and must be provided with grain and other necessities, meanwhile. Thus, while an individual smith may earn as much as Eth$400.- from his craft in a year, the additional food bill may be Eth$300.-, and most of the earnings will go to pay the rent on his land, of which he farms less than the average peasant.

Even a well-made plowpoint dulls after about 10 years. Then it is brought back and the smith cuts it down to an axe ("mäterabiya") for only 50¢ Eth. When that dulls, he cuts it down further to a slightly smaller adze ("mäqofariya") for half that sum.

326 563 The human organization of smithcraft, particularly in the Amhara area where the Falasha are the smiths, presents peculiar problems and patterns. Where no Falasha hamlets are near, the smithing is done by itinerant Fa-

281 Fats, usually of plant origin, either wild or domestic, are then used to lubricate and soften the skin. This is hard manual work, lasting sometimes several days. Most commonly preferred is the castor oil bean, called "qaçhma" or "gulqwas". The skin may now be kneaded or stamped by feet, to work the fats in and render the skin soft for the cutting and fashioning of objects, which now follows.

282 411 The shield was formerly one of the major products of the Faqi, but now is made rarely and only for ornamental use. The rhinoceros or buffalo skin is cut circular, placed over a wooden stake in the ground, the rim pegged down, to prepare the cupola shape. The skin is then depilated, dried, smeared with oils to expand again. It is beaten to increase its resistance. Incised decorations and the pulling through of the leather handle, are done before the shield is entirely hard and dry. Metal decor is added later, by the smith, after the Faqi has delivered his product.

282 [354] [415] [283] More common products, still made today, are: half-sack, "ənqälba", for carrying the baby on the mother's back, with straps and a bottom tied to the mother's shoulders, chest and waist; full sacks, "aqomada", for transporting grain to market, tied with strips (these are also used for various storage in the better Amhara huts); straps cut of poor skins in all kinds and sizes, "qeralla", some for tying loads onto donkeys, some to serve as more springy diagonal straps of the better "alga" bed; a fine, tanned cowskin used as blanket; "jändi", cover

782 is already assured. It is also performed on Epiphany,
726 to defy human as well as spirit enemiesoof the Faith.
521
535 Before battle, it was the response of the simple soldiers, ("watadär") to the pep-talk ("arraga") given them by the commander, encouraging them to stand their ground.

727 After thevictorious battle, the soldier could look
554 forward to taking part in the royal feasting, the "gabber", and to lording it over the local "gabbar" peasant who had to supply the means and the womenfolk. It is at least part of the basis of the pride (critics say false sense of their own worth) of the free Amhara over subject peoples, enabling evan the simplest soldier to feel that he belongs to the proprietory class. Back home, he therefore despises manual labor, and even in going into battle he used to conscript peasant boys to carry his heavy rhinoceros-hide shield ("gasha"). These boys often became replacements for slain warriors when they could secure weapons, and, in turn, recruited servants for themselves.

441 The typical weapon was the spear (the word "tor" means both war and spear) until replaced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by rifles, though late-medieval muskets and Ottoman firearms were available to a few from the Portuguese period in the 16th century. The spear, some in use as late as the Italian invasion of 1935/6, sometimes had two or three prongs. Sabers were rare, and available mostley to noble officers. They were of the curved, Damascene type. Daggers of

441 various shapes were somewhat more common. Long lances and shorter throwing spears, both with fine, long iron
714 heads, were in use. Round rhinoceros shields belonging to officers were often ornamented carefully with brass or even silver or gold plates arranged in geometric patterns; circles; colorful velvet embroidery, granted as reward gifts for special bravery. Crown-like bands worn around forehead and skull, of gold, silver or lion-mane, were given to officers as decorations for bravery.

More lasting awards were available only in the form of "gult" fiefs.

701 Table 5: Land Tenure of Artisans and Chaplains.

Title and Rank	Function	Reward in Land Tenure
bajirond (lit. treasurer)	(ethnic-origin) quartermaster, chief of artisans	"rest-gult" lands, inheritable.
qēs (priest)	army chaplain, carrier of sacred "tabot" (representing home church, and symbolizing the ark of the ancient Israelites.	"rest-gult" land, given to parish church.

725 The Amhara army on the march (or any Abyssinian army) has been described as resembling a migrating people rather than a disciplined-looking army. Supplies and equipment crawling over the landscape on donkey or human carriers, might amount to two-thirds of the army. Servants, priests, women and children, household utensils, cattle and sheep, huge jars of beer, etc., seemed to surround the main military caval-

796 the youngest are lifted to see the parade. Boys and
[857] girls age 7 to 15 go from hut to hut starting in the early morning, chanting "Buhe, Buhe", "hoyya, hoyyo, ho", and verses:

[539]

"All shout 'Buhe!, children all!
Give us what (you have) prepared; Do not change
(your mind)! "

"When the rooster has crowed, night is gone;
After Buhe, the winter(rainy season) is gone".

796 Long whips, mostly of finely braided fibre, of
526 tree bark or "tucha" grass, are made before Buhe, and
[411] young men practice with them until they can hit even small targets easily. On Buhe afternoon, two groups of contestants face each other, often across a swollen brook, and line up so that each individual faces an opponent of equal skill and strength. They come armed with the whips, and begin to warm up by hurling insults at each other, addressing each other in the female gender. Soon the game of aiming at the face and ducking the adversary's whip begins. The whip has a short wooden handle, but the strap may be as long as 15 feet. Sometimes this opportunity is taken to work out grudge fights. For, traditionally, any wounds incurred, even the loss of an eye, cannot be taken to court or cause a feud, as the result of this ritual battle. No other weapons may be used. The losers flee, are pursued to their huts, and the victors are entitled to all the

291 Men doing physical labor - "boddäna" - lift toga above shoulders to free arms;

- "adägaddägä" - knot toga across chest; wrap-around. (also to tie shammas of debtors to creditors, or prisoners to guard's).

[411] To parry blows - "näkäta" - wrapping toga around left forearm, as shield.

Preparing for battle - "adägaddägä" (see above): knotting shamma across chest, after wrapping it tightly around the waist.

When cold - "zeqzeq läbbäsä" - doubling a heavy shamma (called "kuta" or "derreb") to wrap oneself in completely, even covering covering head, at night.

When hot - a light shamma of muslin ("nätala") may be rolled around the head - "tämättänä". Hence, the turban of priests is called "mätämäniya", a tight wrap-around of the head by muslin.

[535] When dancing - before "däbtära" (scribe-choristers) begin to dance, in church, they first drape the toga tightly ("shäbäsh-häbä"), so that the flaps will not drop from the shoulders during the motion.

[765] In mourning - while dancing the funeral motion, accompanying the improvised eulogy, women approach each other holding their own togas outward and horizontal, like huge wings, (as if they were holding a spear like men dancing the "fukkara" boast dance).

201 291 178 685 Some of these expressive ways of draping the shamma are falling into disuse in the towns where the people are more affected by what passes as "modern dress". However, an interesting increase in one way of draping the shamma can be noticed in recent years: Now that debtors are no

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5

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102

(Facing p. 7)

Gojjam notable and boy learning trade of war by carrying weapons

291
411

Gojjamis, Matakal

030

Mule and Hotchkiss gun crossing Blue Nile

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

another lord, who was named Adiby, who was now Bar- 643
nagais. Beneath the Barnagais are some great lords whom 631
they call Xuums, which means captains; and these are, first, Xuum Cire, a very great captaincy, he is now married to a sister of Prester John. We never went to this country and Xuumeta because it is distant and out of the way. There 643
is another Xuumeta named Ceruil. We knew this lordship, 701
and they say that its Xuum brings into the field fifteen 631
thousand spearmen with shields and archers. Also Xuum Cama, and Buno Xuum, and Xuum bono. These Xumetas had been one, and on account of its being large, and the Prester having misgivings that they might set themselves up against the Barnagais, he made it into two, and even yet each of them is very large. They say that this lordship which is now two was the dominion of Queen Candace, without having been larger in her time. She was the first Christian that there was in this country, and whom the Lord called powerful. Also two other captaincies, one is named Dafilla, the other Canfila; these two border on Egypt, and their captains are like lords of the marches. All these captains before mentioned are of kettledrums, [534]
which nobody except great lords can carry: and all these serve with the Barnagais in wars when he goes to them, and wherever he may go. They have other great gentlemen under their command who are called Arraz,[1] which means heads. We knew one of these, who was named Arraz Aderaan, he is head over fifteen thousand men at arms, whom they name chavas. I saw this Arraz Aderaan twice at the court, both times I saw him before the gate of the [292]
Prester John going without a shirt, and from his waist downwards a very good silk cloth, and on his shoulders the skin of a lion, in his right hand a spear, and in his left hand [411]
a shield. I asked how it was so great a lord went about in that manner, they told me that the greatest honour

[1] *Ar-ras.*

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

These Nobiis are neither Moors, nor Jews, nor Christians. [721]
It is said that they had been Christians, and had lost their faith, and are thus without any faith. They say that there is among these Nobiis much fine gold. They said that but a short time ago they had killed a son of the Barnagais, and that he wished to go and avenge his death. I heard say that in the frontier districts of these Nobiis there were four or five hundred horsemen, very great warriors, and that it is a country very well supplied with provisions, and it cannot be otherwise because it is on this and the further side of the Nile, which they say is a very fertile country. The proclamation said that he would set out in fifty days from that time: but up to this there had been no muster nor movement of arms. This would be because in the country there are not many, and few people possess them except the Chavas, who are the men at arms. These [411] men have javelins, bows and arrows. These great lords have a few swords, hangers, and shirts of mail (not many of [714] them). On the occasion of this little revolt, the Barnagais asked the ambassador for swords, and the ambassador gave him his own, which he wore on the road, and which was very good, and he still persistently begged another rich sword with ornaments which he carried with him, saying he wanted it for the war he was going to make, and the ambassador not being able to excuse himself, it suited him to buy another from his companions with gilt ends and a velvet scabbard, which he gave him instead of his own. And in the house where we kept our goods, and where our Portuguese slept, which was a house without doors, on the following night they stole from them two swords and a helmet. All this would be on account of the war.

[pp. 66-400 have not been processed for the files.-Analyst]

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

794 He says that during all Passion week they are dressed in black or blue, and do not speak to one another for grief, saying that Judas by a kiss of peace betrayed his Lord.

532 784 Although there are in the churches effigies painted on all the walls, and also crosses, nevertheless on no cross is a crucifix painted, neither have they any of solid carving; because they say they are not deserving to see Christ crucified.

792 778 All the priests, friars, and gentlemen carry crosses in their hands, both on foot and on horseback; and the laymen of the people and lower people carry crosses round their necks. Every priest and friar carries a little horn of copper with holy water, and the hosts where they arrive beg of them water and a blessing, and they give it. Before they eat they throw drops of water on the food, and also in the drinking vases.

411 Their arms are assagays, few swords, a few shirts of mail, long and narrow; our Portuguese say that they are not of good mail.

There are many bows and arrows, they have no feathers like ours; there are very few helmets and casques. Those that there are have come since they have had intercourse with the Portuguese. There are plenty of strong bucklers;

713 there are no cannon, except two swivel guns which we brought them. At our departure there were fourteen muskets at Court, which they bought from the Turks who come there to trade. The Prester ordered whatever they asked to be given for them, and ordered men to be taught to shoot.

534 There are trumpets, but not good ones; there are many drums of copper which come from Cairo, and others of wood which have leather on both sides; there are tambourines like ours, and large cymbals which they sound. There are flutes and some instruments with chords, square like harps, which they call David moçanquo, which means the harp of David. They play these to the Prester, and not well.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

[MANZ]

estates" make up the most common subjects of litigation in Manz, and hardly a day passes in the courts there without a hearing on some case about *rïst*.

The Manzēs are as stubbornly loyal to their fathers' faith as they are to their land. They take much pride in the strictness with which the Orthodox fasts are observed in Manz, and in the fact that non-Christians are not to be found there. A number of legends told locally represent Manz as an especially hallowed Christian territory. One legend says that after the Crucifixion the angel Uriel gathered some of Jesus' blood on his wings and flew to Manz. Standing on the hill of Dabra Qopros in Māmā Meder, he shook his wings and thereby sprinkled the holy blood over the entire area. Another story dates the sanctification of Manz by the blood of Jesus to the time when a portion of the true Cross was brought to Ethiopia and tells of how on the way to its repository at Gishēn Māryām, in Wallo, some drops spilled from the relic onto Manz soil.[37] Still another legend relates that the Virgin Mary sojourned in Manz when Jesus was a young boy. Lake Alo Bāhr in western Gērā Meder is said to be the product of Mary's wrath—her punishment of the people who lived on what was dry land at the time for judging against her in a dispute with a local woman.

To defend his land, church, or honor, the typical Manzē is ready at short notice to fight to the death. In their own eyes, as in the eyes of others, the men of Manz are reputed for hardiness and combativeness. *Mot ged yallam* ("Never mind about death!") is the motto one governor from Manz volunteered as the key to the ethos of his people. The Manzē wants his son to be *guabaz* ("brave") and uses this term, like that of *waṭādar* ("soldier"), as a favorite compliment. The names which are characteristically given to children in Manz express this determination:

Ahidē	"Thrasher"	*Goshemē*	"Shover"
Asdangat	"Frighten"	*Latybalu*	"Let Them Bow"
Atāmantā	"Don't Hesitate"	*Mān Yāzhāl*	"Who Orders You?"
Balātchaw	"Give It To Them"	*Nādaw*	"Wipe Him Out"
Balāy-metā	"Hit On The Top"	*Tālārgē*	"Powerful"
Chabudē	"Squeezer"	*Tāsaw*	"Smash Him"
Chafchefē	"Hacker"	*Weqātchaw*	"Thrash Them"

Female names in Manz sometimes reflect this virile emphasis; for example, *Hijibātchaw* ("Go Against Them") or *Asagadatch* ("She Makes Them Bow").

A common symbol of physical bravery is the *dulā*, a hardwood staff about three feet long. The Manzē is rarely seen without his *dulā*. It has many purposes—to brace his shoulders on long treks, to carry loads, to ward off dogs when he goes visiting, to support his body while listening to litigation or standing at the long church services.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

standing at the long church services. Above all it is a weapon of offense and defense, and every Amhara male is supposed to be skilled in its use. When the *dulā* is so employed in Manz, the *bānnā* blanket is usually wrapped around the left arm to form a quick shield, the *dulā* raised high with the right to bring down on the adversary's cranium. The blows are sometimes fatal. The Manzēs are proud of their facility with the lethal stick, and nearly every district in Manz boasts that it is real "*dulā* country."

The Manzēs also excel at *shillalā,* the Abyssinian war chant. This is a form of boastful verse—partly intoned, partly shouted—which is declaimed by warriors to "heat their blood" before hitting the warpath. Children in Manz start practicing *shillalā* almost as soon as they leave the breast. The following is a good specimen of Manz *shillalā:*

Agarātchn Māmā agarātchn Lālo wanzātchn Dangazē;
Mān abātu yāzzāl imbi senīl gizē.

Our land is Māmā, our land is Lālo, our stream the Dangazē;
What father will order us when *imbi* we say!

Imbi is an interjection used by children to express "No!" There is a double pun in this couplet. *Mān abātu* ("Who is the father?") is a profane idiom meaning "bastard." "To say *imbi*" is another idiom, meaning "to refuse." The second line may thus be also rendered as:

What bastard dare shove us around when we tell him to keep off our lands!

The Manzē code asks that a man be ready to defend his land and church by force. It does not approve wanton aggression. But the Manzē's disposition is notoriously aggressive, for his emotional life is relatively devoid of warmth and, on the other hand, fighting is so highly rewarded. Children are urged to be adept with the *dulā*. Their temper tantrums are welcomed as signs that they are brave. As a result the men of Manz are often overcome by the impulse toward physical aggression; assault and murder are recurrent events on their fields and trails and at their marketplaces. The discrepancy between the *norm* of physical bravery, which is operative *in certain specified circumstances,* and the *general character trait* of aggressiveness comprises a major theme in their emotional life: they feel obliged to look for justification for the aggressive actions which they have been conditioned to want to carry out. This disposition is illustrated in the words of the Manzē youth who said:

I want very much to kill somebody. The only problem is I'm not strong enough. Perhaps one day I will be. Why is it all right to kill? People kill sheep, don't they? And sheep are innocent, they don't know anything, don't do any wrong. But man knows, he knows much, and still he does wrong: every man is bad. I wouldn't kill everybody, only the bad ones. If I had an enemy, I would kill him. Maybe I will become a soldier, and kill my country's enemies.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

*565 156 157 man, as we shall see in more detail below, includes the quality of leaving others alone.

[577] This strong sense of self is confirmed and symbolized by two conspicuous *565 156 Amhara customs: carrying staves and going on trips. A staff, like a pipe, affirms the ego in two ways. As a piece of personal property right at hand, it stimulates a sense of pride of ownership; as something external yet confronting the person, it makes the ego more conscious of its bounded reality. Such sensations are daily experiences for the Amhara peasant, who is rarely separated from the staff in one form or other. When he leaves his homestead he normally carries the hard *dulā*, a potential weapon of defense that likewise affirms his ego by bolstering self-confidence in a dangerous world. He braces the *dulā* against his back as he treks along, or holds it against the [481] front of his shoulder like a rifle. Older men walk using it as a cane. A special kind of staff made of softer wood (*zang*) is carried by pious and elderly [481] men. Participants in devotional services lean on still another type of staff (*maquāmiyā*) which is distributed in the church for that purpose.

*565 156 484 Traveling is another custom which affirms the ego, at least when one travels spontaneously and not in organized company. As the individual moves past various stimuli, his self-consciousness is heightened by the contrast between a persisting ego and a constantly changing environment. As a traveler par excellence—and a lone traveler, unless social rank requires the presence of retainers—the Amhara peasant frequently removes himself from familiar home settings and confronts an outside world. He loves to go on the road and will travel at the slightest provocation. For him a distance of two or three hours by foot is like the American's trip to the corner drugstore. Whether to visit relatives or pay respects after death, to go to market or to court, to get holy water at a distant church, or to look after land in a far away district, the Amhara peasant is on the move dozens of times each year, often for trips involving two or three days of travel.

*565 156 829 602 609 Because of the great emphasis on the self in Amhara experience and culture, one may for the moment say that the personal ego is the central object in the Amhara peasant's view of society. Exactly what might be meant by this statement and in what respects it needs qualification are questions that will be taken up in the concluding chapter. If it is so, certainly the next most prominent social object in his world is the circle of close ones, or *zamad*. *Zamad* refers in the first instance to consanguineal kin, and is distinguished from the category of those who are strangers, or *bā'ed*. This is perhaps the most important of all the sociological distinctions made by the Amhara: the former, *zamad*, are seen as entitled to the warmest hospitality, while toward *bā'ed* indifference and suspicion are appropriate responses.

*565 156 602 This does not mean that the kin group is a corporate entity whose interests and identity transcend that of the individual. On the contrary, the notion of

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

838 hold hands when talking, embrace each other when walking, and sleep in
571 each other's arms, there seems to be neither practice nor knowledge of unsublimated homosexuality among the traditional Amhara. Boys often address one another in the feminine intimate form, and girls sometimes use the masculine form among themselves or call each other "brother," without having their own sexual identities in the least confused thereby. Amhara males, in
831 particular, have a proud cult of virility, though it is not compulsive in the
(834) sense that they must boast of sexual conquests; to talk of sexual exploits in front of others in such a manner would be a great shame, and such matters
[577] are simply taken in one's stride. (The other side of masculinity, physical courage, is the subject of a great deal of boasting. The term for masculinity, *wandnat,* is synonymous with *guabaznat,* or "bravery.")

* 883 The advent of puberty therefore makes the young Amhara simply more
882 self-conscious about the characteristics proper to his or her sex. Girls begin to groom themselves and think of finer clothes. Boys proudly take on a "man's share" of the work; and, what is more, become somewhat unruly, tempestuous, quick to pick fights, and vaunt their new powers. The *goramsā* often
[41] carries a special kind of *dulā* that is symbolic of his youthful masculinity. Unusually short, stout, and hard, it is convenient for concealing beneath his clothes when he goes out at night on sexual adventures, and dangerous enough to convince himself that he is quite brave. As soon as conditions permit, adolescents of both sexes enter their first marriage with alacrity.

155 With respect to psychosocial identity, the situation is slightly more com-
156 plex, in that Abyssinian society does provide a variety of social roles for its males. For the most part, boys faithfully follow the examples of their fathers. This is true in the case of noblemen, priests, traders, and artisans, as well as for the great peasant majority concerning whom the following remarks are presented.

565 The pattern of peasant life is broad enough to fit the dispositions of most
554 of those who are called on to continue it. The typical Amhara adolescent boy
156 therefore seeks no more in life than to be given a pretty wife whose father has a lot of land, to work so well that his father will be generous in giving him land and cattle when he marries, to produce abundant grain so he can eat plenty, and to become renowned in the land as an outstanding litigant.

Under certain conditions, however, this pattern may not fit. The reason may be chiefly economic: too many siblings and too little land in the family may force him to seek some other livelihood. Or it may have to do primarily with resentment with his lot under an especially rigid and unkind father. Still another motive may lie in the boy's yearning for a more suitable identity.

156 Whatever the reasons for his marginality may have been, the adolescent
554 boy in traditional Abyssinia could respond to such a situation by pursuing
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